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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00	EB-01
	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

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O 030919Z JUN 95
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0766
INFO USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 001757

E.O. 12356: FOREIGN GOVERNMENT INFORMATION
TAGS: PINS, PINR, MOPS, MARR, PHUM, EAID, RW
SUBJECT: MINISTER OF HEALTH, RPF INSIDER,
GIVES THANKS AND A STRATEGIC WARNING

1. C -- ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: IN AN IMPROMPTU MEETING, THE MINISTER
OF HEALTH THANKED THE USG AND AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR
MANY FAVORS SMALL AND LARGE. HE BEMOANED THE
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PRESENCE OF TOO MANY NGOS. HE PRAISED THE US

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COMMISSIONER TO THE KIBEHO INQUIRY FOR HIS
DISPASSIONATE APPROACH TO THE EVIDENCE. PASSING ON
A MESSAGE FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT ON THE AFRICA
HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT, HE WARNED THAT THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST ACT TO HEAD OFF A
"CATASTROPHE" IF THE EX-FAR IS NOT DISARMED AND
NEUTRALIZED. END SUMMARY.

3. I WAS SUMMONED TO THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH JUNE 2
BY THE MINISTER, COLONEL/DOCTOR KAREMERA, AN RPF
INSIDER WHO OFTEN PARTICIPATES IN GOR DECISIONS
REGARDING NATIONAL SECURITY. KAREMERA BEGAN BY
SAYING THAT HE WANTED TO THANK ME, THE USG, AND THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR THE HELP THEY HAVE GIVEN TO
RWANDA AND THE RWANDAN PEOPLE OVER THE PAST MONTHS.
HE SINGLED OUT THE DOD HUMANITARIAN AID PROGRAM FOR
PARTICULAR PRAISE. HE ALSO MENTIONED WITH SPECIAL
THANKS THE TWO U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE OFFICERS
WORKING IN RWANDA. A PLAIN-SPOKEN MAN, KAREMERA
SAID, "I JUST WANTED TO SAY, THANKS A LOT."

MORE TRAINING, FEWER NGOS

4. KAREMERA SAID THAT WHAT HIS MINISTRY AND THE
GOR IN GENERAL NEEDED MOST WAS TRAINING. THE TWO
USPHS OFFICERS WERE ORGANIZING TRAINING FOR NURSES
AND KAREMERA SAID HE WAS "VERY HAPPY ABOUT IT." HE
AGAIN SINGLED OUT FOR PRAISE THE US NGO SAMARITAN'S
PURSE, WITH WHICH HE IS ORGANIZING A NEW PROJECT
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FOR TRAINING OF PUBLIC HEALTH WORKERS. KAREMERA
TOLD ME HE WOULD RATHER HAVE TEN NGOS LIKE
SAMARITAN'S PURSE THAN THE 66 HE NOW WORKS WITH.
HE PULLED OFF THE SHELF A DOSSIER WITH THE NGO
ROSTER, STARTED TICKING OFF NAMES, AND TOLD ME HE
HAD NO IDEA WHAT MOST OF THEM DO. THEY SEEM TO
HIM, HE SAID, TO BE WORKING ON THEIR OWN BEHALF,
NOT FOR RWANDA. "IF YOU COULD SEE WHAT THESE NGOS
DO IN OUR COUNTRY," HE TOLD ME, "YOU WOULD SAY IT
IS NOT FAIR." HE COMPARED THE NGOS UNFAVORABLY TO

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THE YOUNG U.S. SERVICEMAN WHO WORKED ON THE JTF IN KIGALI IN THE SUMMER OF 94. "THOSE YOUNG MEN DID A LOT OF WORK SELFLESSLY. THEY WERE A TRUE EXAMPLE OF WHAT A FRIEND IS. I WAS LUCKY TO KNOW SOME OF THOSE YOUNG MEN AND TO SEE HOW THEY WORKED."

WE LIKE THE HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH REPORT

5. KAREMERA THEN STEPPED OUT OF HIS MINISTER OF HEALTH ROLE TO TAKE ON THE MANTLE OF A COLONEL IN THE RPA. "WE ARE QUITE HAPPY ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH REPORT," HE TOLD ME. HE SAID THAT THE REPORT PROVIDED AN "AUTHENTIC BASIS" FOR REPORTING ON THE ARMS TRADE AND TRAINING OF THE EX-FAR. HE WAS ESPECIALLY PLEASED THAT IT CAME FROM "A RESPECTABLE COUNTRY." HE TOLD ME THAT VICE PRESIDENT KAGAME HAD TOLD HIM TO MENTION THE REPORT TO ME. KAGAME, KAREMERA SAID, "IS VERY HAPPY THAT HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH HAS PROVIDED A CREDIBLE REPORT -
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- NOT A WITCH HUNT" WHICH BACKS UP WHAT THE GOR HAS BEEN SAYING ALL ALONG. KAREMERA SAID THAT HE HAD WARNED USG OFFICIALS THAT THE EX-GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA WAS PLANNING GENOCIDE TWO YEARS BEFORE THE EVENT -- "NO ONE BELIEVED ME THEN." (SEE SEPTTEL FOR REPORT OF VP KAGAME'S JUNE 2 PRESS CONFERENCE ON THE SAME THEME.)

THE REAL MESSAGE

6. "AND WHAT DO WE SEE NOW?" KAREMERA ASKED. "PEOPLE WHO COMMITTED GENOCIDE BEING HANDLED WITH KID GLOVES -- FED -- HOUSED -- GIVEN UNIFORMS -- EVEN GUNS. IS IT NOT ABSURD?" KAREMERA TOLD ME THAT HE WAS PREDICTING A CATASTROPHE IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS OR YEARS IF THE SITUATION IN GOMA AND BUKAVU WAS NOT CLEARED UP. "WRITE THAT DOWN," HE

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SAID, GESTURING TO MY NOTEBOOK. "QUOTE ME. THERE
WILL BE A CATASTROPHE IN MY COUNTRY IF THAT
NONSENSE IN ZAIRE DOESN'T STOP. THOSE PEOPLE MUST
BE SEPARATED -- DISARMED. THE INNOCENT HOSTAGES
MUST BE FREED FROM THE GUILTY ARMY." KAREMERA SAID
THAT HE HAD BEEN PRESENT WHEN VP KAGAME TOLD U.S.
SECDEF PERRY TO UNLEASH THE RPA INTO THE CAMPS.

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"LET US DO THAT," HE QUOTED KAGAME AS SAYING.

7. I ASKED KAREMERA IF THE RPA WAS PLANNING TO DO
THAT NOW. "NO," HE SAID. "WE ARE NOT PLANNING
ANYTHING." HE SAID THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
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SHOULD TAKE CARE OF THE PROBLEM BY SEPARATING
CIVILIANS FROM COMBATANTS AND DISARMING THE
COMBATANTS. THE ONLY WAY TO DO THAT WOULD BE BY
FORCE. HE SAID THAT UNAMIR COULD PROBABLY DO IT.

SOCIAL STABILITY WITHOUT UNAMIR

8. KAREMERA SAID THAT THERE COULD BE NO SOCIAL
STABILITY IN RWANDA UNTIL THE REFUGEE CAMP
SITUATION IS STRAIGHTENED OUT BECAUSE PEOPLE IN
RWANDA ARE LIVING IN FEAR OF THE FUTURE. THAT IS
WHY UNAMIR'S PRESENCE MUST BE REDUCED, SO THAT THE
FUTURE SITUATION BECOMES MORE CLEAR AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE, HE SAID. THE GOR, HE SAID, IS TRYING TO
DO EVERYTHING IT CAN TO ENCOURAGE SOCIAL STABILITY,
AND THAT IS THE REASON FOR THE RECENT DECISION TO
SLOW DOWN THE RATE OF ARRESTS.

9. SHIFTING FROM SOCIAL STABILITY, KAREMERA TURNED
TO THE KIBEHO COMMISSION REPORT. HE TOLD ME HE WAS
VERY PLEASED THAT THE USG HAD APPOINTED MAURICE
NYBERG TO THE COMMISSION. HE CREDITED NYBERG WITH
KEEPING THE COMMISSION ON TRACK AND INSISTING THAT
THE EVENTS AT KIBEHO COULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD
OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF THE MONTHS OF PLANNING WHICH
WENT INTO THE OPERATION. "HE IS A SMART MAN. AN
INDEPENDENT MAN. THERE ARE NO STRINGS ATTACHED TO
HIS INTELLIGENCE."

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9. COMMENT. IT IS A LONG TIME SINCE I HAVE FELT
SO WOODED AS KAREMERA MADE ME FEEL THIS AFTERNOON.
HE GAVE ME THE FULL WASH, WAX, AND SIMONIZE, AND I
THINK THE REASON IS UP THERE IN PARAS 6, 7, AND 8.
(VP KAGAME HIT THESE SAME THEMES IN A PRESS
CONFERENCE A FEW HOURS BEFORE MY MEETING WITH
KAREMERA. SEE SEPTTEL.) I REPORT THIS CONVERSATION
IN THE ORDER IN WHICH IT OCCURRED TO GIVE READERS
THE FULL EFFECT OF KAREMERA'S MESSAGE. HE SPOKE
FROM SCRIBBLED NOTES, AND HE WARMED ME UP WITH THE
FIRST ROUND OF EFFUSIVE THANKS FOR HUMANITARIAN
ASSISTANCE, THE AMERICAN FIGHTING MAN, PRAISE FOR
THE OBJECTIVITY OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH REPORT,
AND THEN SLIPPED ME THE STRATEGIC WARNING: WE'RE
SERIOUS ABOUT THE CAMPS, DO SOMETHING SOON OR WE
WILL. THE PRAISE FOR NYBERG'S PERFORMANCE ON THE
KIBEHO COMMISSION WAS JUST A NICE FINAL TOUCH TO
BRING THE MEETING BACK TO ITS ORIGINAL PURPOSE: THE
GOR THANKS THE USG FOR PAST HELP, PLEASE MAY WE
HAVE SOME MORE.

10. COMMENT CONTINUED. KAREMERA REPLIED BLUNTLY
TO MY BLUNT QUESTION ABOUT GOING INTO THE CAMPS,
BUT HE CHOSE HIS WORDS. HE SAID THE RPA IS "NOT
PLANNING TO GO IN." HE DID NOT SAY THAT THE RPA IS
NOT READY TO GO IN. I HAVE HAD THIS SAME MESSAGE
OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS FROM EMMANUEL GASANA, THE
PRESIDENT'S CHEF DU CABINET, FROM VP KAGAME, AND
NOW FROM KAREMERA, WHO MADE A POINT OF TELLING ME
THAT HE HAD SPENT THE LAST TEN YEARS "DOING WAR."
HIS POINT IN PARA 5, "NO ONE BELIEVED ME THEN," WAS

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HIS WAY OF SAYING, "DON'T MAKE THE SAME MISTAKE
THEY MADE: LISTEN TO WHAT I'M TELLING YOU." I WAS
THE CHOSEN AUDIENCE TODAY, IN A MEETING ARRANGED ON
VERY SHORT NOTICE. I RECEIVED A MESSAGE THEY WANT
US TO HEAR. THEY WANT US TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE
CAMPS BEFORE THEY DO. END COMMENT.

11. DATT COMMENT: IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH
RPA G-3 COL CHARLES MUHERI ON THE SAME DAY, THE G-3
SAID THAT "FOR NOW, WE ARE WAITING FOR GOMA TO COME
TO US." I BELIEVE THE GOR AND ESPECIALLY THE RPA
IS GIVING US STRATEGIC WARNING IN A FULL COURT
PRESS -- DO SOMETHING OR WE WILL. THE HUMAN RIGHTS
WATCH REPORT GIVES THEM SUFFICIENT REASON TO MOVE
UNLESS WE GIVE THEM
REASON NOT TO. BUT THAT REASON
MUST RESOLVE THE PROBLEM, NOT IGNORE IT IN THE HOPE
IT WILL GO AWAY. WHALEY

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